Manuscripts
Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.II.10 (s. xii^{ex})
Cambridge, University Library MS EE.II.3 (s. xii^{in})
Dublin, Trinity College MS 98 (formerly B.3.6) (s. xii^{in})
London, British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. xii^{in})
London, British Library MS Cotton Tiberius B.viii (s. xii^{ex})
Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS C.400 (s. xiv^{in})
Oxford, Magdalen College MS 226 (s. xii^{ex})

Royal Ordo from the Romano-Germanic Pontifical (c.950)
Alternative names: Ottonian *Ordo*, Mainz *Ordo*

Edition
Vogel & Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique*, I: 246-69.

Manuscript summary
Texts that can be considered as belonging to the PRG tradition are to be found in around fifty manuscripts.

Royal Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)
Alternative names: *Ordo* of Arras

Edition
Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 201-16.

Manuscript summary
There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century, and one from the fourteenth century.

Ratold Ordo (c.980)
Alternative names: Continental version of the English Second Recension, Fulrad *Ordo*

Edition
Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 168-200.

Manuscript summary
There are twenty surviving manuscripts. The earliest dates from *c.*980 and was copied for Ratold, abbot of Corbie, from whom the *ordo* got its name. One eleventh-century manuscript survives, seven from the twelfth century, a further seven from the thirteenth century, one from the fourteenth century and three from the seventeenth century.

Ordo of Saint-Bertin (c.1150-1200)
Alternative names: *Ordo* of Senlis

Edition
Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 240-7.

Manuscript summary
Two manuscripts survive, one from the mid- or late-twelfth century and one from the mid-fourteenth century.

Ordo of 1200 (c.1200)
Alternative names: Compilation of 1200

Edition
Jackson, *Ordines Coronationis Franciae*, I, 248-67.

Manuscript summary
Two thirteenth-century manuscripts of this *ordo* survive, one from the early part of the century and one from the middle.

Imperial Ordo from Cologne Dombibliothek MS 141 (1000-1050)
Alternative names: *Ordo* of Arras

Edition
Elze, *Die Ordines*, 20-2.

Manuscript summary
There are two surviving manuscripts, one from the first half of the eleventh century and one from the fourteenth century.

Cencius I (c.1100)

Edition
Elze, *Die Ordines*, 22-5.

Manuscript summary
There are ten surviving manuscripts dating from the late-eleventh to the late-thirteenth centuries.

Cencius II (c.1100-1150)
Alternative names: *Ordo* C, *Ordo* Ia

Edition
Elze, *Die Ordines*, 35-47.

bureaucracy that is twenty-first century Britain: although the Christomimetic allusion was probably lost on most of his future subjects, in October 2013, Prince George was baptized with water from the River Jordan.

Lazy periodization and the adherence of much of modern scholarship on medieval kingship to overarching teleological narratives of modernization and secularization has led to the privileging of the demise of sacral kingship as an explanatory factor. As Jens Engels pointed out, the imprecision with which scholars use the term 'sacral kingship' tends to a re-mystification of monarchy.[43] Rather than seeing Canossa, law and bureaucracy as signalling the 'disenchantment' of the world, we need to demystify modern scholarly approaches to high medieval kingship. As this study has made explicit, liturgies for inauguration, composed in the Carolingian age and reinterpreted through the centuries, continued to shape concepts of kingship in the high Middle Ages. Liturgies and their interpretation did not remain static. However, liturgy did remain at the heart of the performance of monarchical power in rituals that shaped the political communities of the three realms. When chanters in England, France and the Empire uttered the words 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat', it was with the conviction that the monarchs they were lauding ruled in the image of Christ the King.

[43] Engels, 'Das "Wesen" der Monarchie?', p. 4.

Appendix 1: Editions and Manuscripts of the Selected *Ordines*

The purpose of this appendix is to enable the reader swiftly to find the full texts of the *ordines* referenced in this book and to give an idea of the number of surviving manuscripts. As no critical edition of the English *ordines* exists, all printed works containing readings of individual manuscripts are given and the manuscripts containing witnesses to the English *ordines* are also given in full. As the French, German and imperial *ordines* have all been edited in relatively modern critical editions, only the edition cited in the book and a summary of surviving manuscripts has been included in this appendix. Full details of surviving manuscripts and previous editions of the texts can be found in the relevant critical editions.

English Second Recension (late tenth century)

Alternative names: The Edgar *Ordo*

Editions

1. L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records* (London, 1901), 15-21.
2. V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Étude et description*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1937), II, 160-4.
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert*, HBS 24 (London, 1903), 140-7.
4. D. H. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, HBS 97 (London, 1971), 89-95.

Manuscripts

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146 (s. x^{ex})
Douai, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 67 (s. xii)
London, British Library, Additional MS 57337 (s. x^{ex}/s. xi^{in})
London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A.iii (s. x^{ex}/s. xi^{in})
London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius A.vii (s. x^{med})
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 943 (s. x^{ex})
Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 369 (s. x^{ex})

English Third Recension (twelfth century)

Editions

1. Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 30-9.
2. Turner, *The Claudius Pontificals*, 115-22.
3. H. A. Wilson, *The Pontifical of Magdalen College*, HBS 39 (London, 1910), 89-95.

Manuscript summary
There is one surviving late-twelfth-century manuscript and ten copies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Staufen Ordo (late 1100s)
Alternative names: *Ordo* of 1209, *Ordo* D (previously considered to be the same as *The Ordo from the Roman Curia*)

Edition
Elze, *Die Ordines*, 61-69

Manuscript summary
There are seven surviving witnesses of this text. Only one survives in a conventional liturgical manuscript, dating from the fourteenth century. The remaining texts are to be found in papal registers and royal and imperial *bullae* and charters, also dating from the fourteenth century.

The Ordo from the Roman Curia (early 1200s)
Alternative names: *Ordo* of 1209, *Ordo* D (previously considered to be the same as *the Staufen Ordo*)

Edition
R. Elze, *Die Ordines*, 69-87.

Manuscript summary
This *ordo* was included in the thirteenth-century *Pontifical of the Roman Curia*, that survives in around twenty-four thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. The *ordo* can also be found in around another twenty manuscript copies of the curial book of ceremonies from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Appendix 2: Prayer Formulae Incipits

Male inauguration prayers (K)

K1 Te invocamus domine sancte pater omnipotens aeterne deus
K2 Deus qui populis tuis virtute consulis et amore dominaris
K3 In diebus tuis oriatur omnibus aequitas et iustitia
K4 Omnipotens sempiterne deus creator ac gubernator caeli et terrae
K5 Christe perunge hunc regem in regimen unde unxisti sacerdotes reges
K6 Deus electorum fortitudo et humilium celsitudo
K7 Deus dei filius ihesus christus dominus noster
K8 Accipe anulum signaculum videlicet sanctae fidei
K9 Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas
K10 Accipe hunc gladium cum dei benedictione tibi conlatum
K11 Deus qui prouidentia tua caelestia simul et terrena moderaris
K12 Coronet te deus corona glorie atque iustitiae
K13 Deus perpetuitatis dux virtutem cunctorum hostium victor
K14 Accipe sceptrum regiae potestatis insigne virgam scilicet rectam regni
K15 Omnium domine fons bonorum cunctorumque deus institutor profectuum
K16 Accipe virgam virtutis atque aequitatis qua intellegas mulcere pios
K17 Extendat omnipotens dominus dexteram suae benedictionis
K18 Benedic domine hunc praeelectum principem
K19 Sta et retine amodo statum quem huc usque paterna suggestione tenuisti
K20 Omnipotens det tibi deus de rore caeli et de pinguedine terrae
K21 Benedic domine fortitudinem principis et opera manuum illius suscipe
K22 Benedic domine hunc regem nostrum N. qui regna omnium moderaris
K23 Deus ineffabilis auctor mundi conditor generis humani
K24 Unguantur manus istae de oleo sanctificato unde uncti fuerunt reges
K25 Prospice omnipotens deus serenis optutibus hunc gloriosum regem
K26 Deus qui es iustorum gloria et misericordia peccatorum

K27 Accipe gladium per manus episcoporum licet indignas
K28 Accipe armillas sinceritatis et sapientiae
K29 Accipe pallium quattuor initiis formatum
K30 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
K31 Accipe regiae dignatis anulum et per hunc in te catholicae fidei signaculum
K32 Benedicat tibi deus custodiatque te
K33 Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui famulum tuum regni fastigio
K34 Deus qui scis genus humanum nulla virtute posse subsistere
K35 Omnipotens sempiterne deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
K36 Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio
K37 Accipe coronam regni quae licet ab indignis episcoporum
K38 Exaudi quesumus domine preces nostras
K39 Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui es cunctorum benedictio
K40 Deus in cuius manu corda regum sunt da famulo tuo
K41 Unde unxisti sacerdotes reges et prophetas quatinus iustitiam diligens
K42 Domine deus omnipotens cuius est omnis potestas
K43 Accipe signum gloriae, in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti
K44 Deus in cuius manu corda sunt regum inclina at preces humilitatis nostre
K45 Salvum fac servum tuum domine
K46 Actiones nostras quesumus domine aspirando preveni
K47 Accipe gladium ad vindictam malefactorum
K48 Pretende quesumus, domine, famulo tuo dextram celestis auxilii
K49 Benedic domine quesumus hunc principem nostrum N.
K50 Deus pater eterne glorie sit adiutor tuus et protector

Female inauguration prayers (Q)

Q1 Omnipotens sempiterne deus affluentem spiritum tuae benedictionis
Q2 Accipe anulum fidei signaculum sanctae trinitatis
Q3 Deus cuius est omnis potestas et dignitas da famulae tuae N.
Q4 Accipe coronam gloriae honorem iocunditatis splendida ut fulgeas
Q5 Omnium domine fons bonorum et cunctorum dator profectuum
Q6 Omnipotens sempiterne deus fons et origo totius bonitatis
Q7 Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem lucemque habitas inaccessibilem

Q8 Spiritus sancti gratia humilitatis nostrae officio in te copiosa descendat
Q9 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui in capitibus eorum ponis coronam
Q10 Officio indignitatis nostrae seu congregationis in reginam benedicta
Q11 Adesto domine supplicationibus nostris
Q12 Deus tuorum corona fidelium qui quos ad regnum vocas
Q13 Accipe coronam regalis excellentie, que licet ab indignis episcoporum

Prayers from the mass (M)

M1 Quesumus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus
M2 Munera domine quesumus oblata santifica
M3 Vere dignum aeterne deus qui es fons inmarcescibilis lucis
M4 Haec domine oration salutaris famulum tuum N.
M5 Omnipotens sempiterne deus caelestium terrestriumque moderator
M6 Deus qui miro ordine universa disponis et ineffabiliter gubernas
M7 Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus his salutaribus sacrificiis placatus
M8 Omnipotens deus qui te populi sui voluit esse rectorem
M9 Haec domine salutaris sacrificii perceptio famuli tui N.
M10 Benedicat tibi dominus custodiatque te et sicut voluit
M11 Deus cuius regnum regnum est omnium seculorum
M12 Sacrificiis domine placatus oblatis pacem tuam
M13 Deus qui est diligentibus te facis cuncta prodesse
M14 Deus regnorum omnium et christiani maxime protector imperii
M15 Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie tue
M16 Deus qui ad predicandum eterni regni evangelium romanum imperium

Appendix 3: Tables of Ritual Elements in the Ordines

This appendix comprises six tables laying out the order of the rituals that together made up the inauguration rite in the different *ordines*. The royal *ordines* are presented side-by-side for ease of comparison. This manner of presentation is not possible for the more detailed imperial liturgies, which are presented individually.

Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines I

English Second	*English Third*	*PRG*	*Cologne 141*
King	**King**	**King**	**King**
1. entry to church	1. entry to church	1. procession from bedchamber to church	1. procession from bedchamber to church
2. prostration before altar	2. prostration before altar	2. removal of pallium and weapons	2. regalia placed before altar
3. oath	3. oath	3. prostration before altar	3. interrogation/promise
4. anointing	4. acclamation	4. interrogation/promise	4. congregation asked if they accept king
5. ring	5. anointing	5. acclamation	5. prostration before altar
6. sword	6. sword	6. anointing	6. anointing
7. crowning	7. armillas	7. sword	7. ring
8. sceptre	8. pallium	8. armillas, pallium and ring	8. sword
9. virga	9. crowning	9. sceptre and baculum	9. crowning
10. blessing	10. ring	10. crowning	10. sceptre
11. designation	11. sceptre	11. blessing	11. virga
	12. virga	12. enthronement	12. blessing
Queen	13. blessing	13. kiss of peace	13. enthronement
1. anointing	14. kiss of peace		14. oath (read by archbishop)
2. ring	15. enthronement		15. kiss of peace
3. crowning			
	Queen		**Queen**
Mass	1. blessing	**Mass**	1. entry to church
	2. anointing		2. prostration before altar
	3. ring	**Queen**	3. anointing
	4. crowning	1. entry to church	4. ring
		2. blessing	5. crowning
		3. anointing	**Imperial** (see p. 235)
		4. crowning	

Ritual Elements in the Royal Ordines II

Ratold Ordo	*Ordo of Saint-Bertin*	*Ordo of 1200*
King	**King**	**King**
1. interrogation/oath	1. procession from bedchamber to church	1. procession from bedchamber to church
2. congregation asked if they accept king	2. removal of pallium	2. removal of pallium and weapons
3. prostration before altar	3. prostration before altar	3. prostration before altar
4. promise (in 4 MSS)	4. interrogation/promise	4. interrogation
5. invocation	5. congregation asked if they accept king	5. congregation asked if they accept king
6. anointing	6. anointing	6. anointing
7. ring	7. sword	7. sword
8. sword	8. ring	8. armillas, pallium and ring
9. crowning	9. sceptre	9. sceptre and baculum
10. sceptre	10. banner	10. crowning
11. virga	11. crowning	11. blessing
12. blessing	12. blessing	12. enthronment
13. designation	13. enthronement	13. promise
14. enthronement	14. kiss of peace	14. kiss of peace
15. promise (in 18 MSS)		
16. kiss of peace	**Mass**	**Mass**
Mass	*Ratold Ordo (continued)*	**Queen**
Queen	**Queen**	1. entry to church
1. entry to church	4. ring	2. blessing before altar
2. prostration before altar	5. crowning	3. anointing
3. anointing *(continued in next column)*	6. sceptre (in 1 MS)	4. crowning
		5. mass

Appendix 3

Ritual Elements in the Earlier Imperial Ordines

Cologne 141

Emperor
1. procession
2. promise
3. prostration
4. anointing
5. crowning

Cencius I

Emperor
1. promise
2. prostration
3. anointing
4. crowning

Ritual Elements in the Ordo Cencius II

Emperor and Empress (integrated with a mass)
1. received by dignitaries at Church of S. Maria Transpadina
2. elect meets pope before bronze doors of S. Maria della Torre
3. kissing of pope's feet
4. withdrawal of queen
5. promise
6. removal of pallium
7. questioning and kisses
8. elect enters S. Pietro
9. queen rejoins husband
10. pope enters S. Pietro
11. blessing
12. interrogation
13. pope dresses in his pontifical garments in the *secretarium*
14. elect led to choir of St. Gregory and dressed in liturgical robes
15. elect led before pope
16. queen fetched by bishop of Ostia and led to altar of St. Gregory
17. pope clothed in planeta and pallium ascends to the altar
18. prostration before altar of elect and queen
19. anointing of elect
20. blessing of queen
21. anointing of queen
22. pope proceeds to altar of St. Maurice followed by elect and queen

23. crowns moved from altar of St. Peter to altar of St. Maurice
24. ring
25. sword
26. crowning of elect
27. crowning of queen
28. sceptre
29. mass
30. count of palace removes emperor's liturgical footwear and gives him spurs
31. emperor and empress, wearing crowns, led to horses
32. emperor holds stirrup for pope
33. procession with emperor and empress followed by crowned pope
34. on arrival at palace emperor holds stirrup as pope dismounts
35. feasts (empress eats separately with some of the bishops and barons)
36. emperor swears Roman oath on Monte Mario, at the Porta Collina and before the steps of S. Pietro

Ritual Elements in the Staufen Ordo

Emperor (integrated with a mass)
1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from *secretarium*
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. entry to S. Maria della Torre
6. elect swears oath before altar
7. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
8. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with imperial insignia
9. elect enters S. Pietro
10. prostration before altar of St. Peter
11. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
12. anointing
13. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from the pope
14. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
15. mass
16. emperor processes to altar
17. crowning
18. orb and sceptre
19. sword
20. emperor returns to wooden chamber
21. emperor takes off crown and cloak
22. kiss of peace
23. emperor holds stirrup for pope

24. horseback procession to S. Maria Transpadina
25. kiss
26. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (if present her inauguration follows the emperor's coronation)
1. led to altar before pope
2. crowning
3. return to chamber

Ritual Elements in the Ordo of the Roman Curia

Emperor (integrated with a mass)
1. procession with dignitaries from Porta Collina to S. Pietro
2. elect dismounts at steps
3. pope emerges from private chapel
4. kissing of pope's feet and offering of gifts
5. elect receives a kiss and embrace
6. entry to S. Maria della Torre
7. elect swears oath before altar
8. pope goes to altar of St. Peter
9. elect remains in S. Maria with three bishops and is clothed with insignia
10. elect enters S. Pietro
11. prostration before altar of St. Peter
12. elect proceeds to altar of St. Maurice
13. anointing
14. elect ascends to altar of St. Peter and receives kiss from the pope
15. emperor proceeds to chamber fashioned from wood
16. mass
17. emperor processes to altar
18. crowning
19. sceptre and orb
20. blessing
21. sword*
22. kissing of pope's feet
23. emperor returns to wooden chamber
24. emperor takes off crown and cloak
25. offering of gold to pope
26. kiss of peace
27. emperor holds stirrup for pope
28. horseback procession to S. Maria Transpadina
29. kiss
30. emperor descends Monte Mario and swears Roman oath

Empress (if present her inauguration follows the emperor's coronation)
1. led to altar before pope
2. blessing
3. anointing
4. crowning
5. return to chamber

* An interpolation relates that in some books it is written that the sword should be given before the coronation. The coronation and bestowal of the sceptre and orb are then repeated.

Appendix 4: Brief Descriptions of Royal and Imperial Seals and *Bullae*

The function of this appendix is to provide the reader with brief descriptions of the iconography and inscriptions of royal and imperial seals and *bullae* from the period *c.*1050-*c.*1250 and to point them to the relevant catalogues or literature where fuller descriptions and often reproductions of these seals can be found. As charters and seals have yet to be subject to the kind of digitisation projects that are now commonplace for manuscripts, few of the seals in this appendix can be seen online. A handful of the seals described below have been digitised and when a seal (or its matrix) is available online a link is provided.

References are made to the following catalogues:
Birch, W. de G., *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. 1 (London, 1887).
Dalas, M. *Les sceaux des rois et de régence*, CdS 2 (Paris, 1980).
Heslop, T.A. 'Seals' in *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200*, ed., G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (London, 1984), 298-320.
Kahsnitz, R. 'Siegel und Goldbullen' in *Die Zeit der Staufer*, ed., R. Haussherr and C. Väterlein, 5 vols. (Stuttgart, 1977), IV, 17-108.
Nielen, M.-A. *Les sceaux des reines et des enfants de France*, CdS 3 (Paris, 2011)
Posse, O. *Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige von 751 bis 1806*, 5 vols. (Dresden, 1909-13).
Stieldorf, A., 'Die Siegel der Herrscherinnen - Siegelführung und Siegelbild der "deutschen" Kaiserinnen und Königinnen', *Rheinische Vierteljahrblätter* 64 (2000), 1-44.
Wyon, A. B. *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887).

If a number is given below, it refers to a catalogue entry rather than a page number. In Posse's catalogue of German seals the seals are not numbered sequentially throughout the catalogue. Instead Posse numbers the seals of each monarch individually. When reference is made to secondary literature other than the catalogues listed above, the bibliographic reference is accompanied by a page number.

Where seals are grouped together this is not to imply that they are identical, but that the iconography is broadly similar. For the differences between these seals the reader is referred to the relevant catalogues. R and L are used to refer to the hands of the monarchs depicted on the seal, rather than to sides of the seal itself. Unless otherwise specified, all seals are circular.

Kings and Queens of England

Edward the Confessor
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb (L) and ? (R)
reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and sword (L)
inscription: + SIGILLUM EADWARDI ANGLORUM BASILEI (both sides)
reference: Heslop, 328
online image: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=lfc_ch_xxi_5_f001r [accessed 24 July 2018]

William I
obverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
reverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HOC NORMANNORUM WILLELMUM NOSCE PATRONUM SI / + HOC ANGLIS REGEM SIGNO FATEARIS EUNDEM
reference: Harvey and McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals*, pp. 27-8

William II
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross (L), two roundels in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + WILLELMUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)
reference: Heslop, 329

Henry I (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORUM (both sides)
reference: Wyon, 19-20

Henry I (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L) and ? (R)
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 330

Henry I (C)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross and bird (L), two stars in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)

inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Wyon, 23-24

Matilda of Scotland
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and orb with cross (L), vesica shape
inscription: + SIGILLUM MATHILDIS SECUNDAE DEI GRACIA REGINAE ANGLIE
reference: Heslop, 336

Adeliza of Louvain
Adeliza re-used Matilda of Scotland's seal with a suitably altered inscription.
reference: Heslop, 336

Stephen (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 331

Stephen (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Heslop, 332

Stephen (C)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L), one star in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a lance with flag (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + STEPHANUS DEI GRATIA DUX NORMANNORUM
reference: Wyon, 27-28

Matilda of Boulogne
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape
inscription: ... MATILDIS DEI GRATIA
reference: Johns, *Noblewomen, Aristocracy and Power*, p. 203.

Matilda of England
Although the earliest surviving impression of this seal is found in England, Matilda most probably first used this seal in Germany
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L) in front of body
inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA
reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 18; Stieldorf, 3

Henry II (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM
reference: Wyon, 30-31

Henry II (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and orb with cross and bird (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM
reference: Heslop, 333

Henry the Young King
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (L) and ? (R)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM
reference: Wyon, 34

Eleanor of Aquitaine
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a bird (L) and ? (R), vesica shape
reverse: same image as obverse
inscription: ALIENOR DEI GRACIA REGINE ANGLORUM DUCISSE NORMAN + / ALIENOR DUCISSE AQUITANORUM ET COMITISSE ANDEGAVOR +
reference: Nielen, 10

Richard I (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L), two plants, moons and stars/suns in field (R and L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)

inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM
reference: Heslop, 334
online image: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/media/FRAN_IR_055193/A1_61/FRAN-AEIII_2013_02960 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Richard I (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L), sun and moon in field
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)
inscription: + RICARDUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLORUM / + RICARDUS DUX NORMANNORUM ET AQUITANORUM ET COMES ANDEGAVORUM
reference: Wyon, 37-38

John
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)
inscription: + JOHANNES DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + JOHANNES DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE
reference: Heslop, 335
online images: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_4838_f001r [accessed 24 July 2018]
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Isabella of Angoulême
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a flower (R) and bird (L), vesica shape
inscription: ISABELLA DEI GRATIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA HIBERNIE
reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 20

Henry III (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sword (R) and sceptre with flower and cross (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE

/ + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE
reference: Wyon, 41-42

Henry III (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with elongated cross (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + HENRICUS DUX NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE ET COMES ANDEGAVIE
reference: Wyon, 43-44
online image: https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/media/FRAN_IR_055193/A1_3/FRAN-AEIII_S302326N00001 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Henry III (C)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with flower (L)
reverse: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield decorated with coat of arms (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE / + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA REX ANGLIE DOMINUS HIBERNIE DUX AQUITANNIE
reference: Wyon, 45-46

Eleanor of Provence (A)
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and sceptre with orb and bird (L), seated lion at base, vesica shape
reverse: shield of arms decorated with three lions hanging from tree with three branches
inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE DOMINA HYBERNIE / ALIANORA DUCISSA NORMANNIE ET AQUITANIE COMITISSA ANDEGAVIE
reference: Birch, 791

Eleanor of Provence (B)
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) under a gothic arch, vesica shape
reverse: same as A seal
inscription: ALIANORA DEI GRACIA REGINA ANGLIE / ALIANORA DEI GRACIA DOMINA HIBERNIE ET DUCISSA AQUITANNIE
reference: Birch, 794

Kings and Queens of France

Henry I
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
reference: Dalas, 62

Philip I (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
reference: Dalas, 63

Philip I (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
reference: Dalas, 64

Bertrada of Montfort
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and bird (L), vesica shape
inscription: SIGILLUM BERTRADE DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINE
reference: Nielen, 5

Louis VI
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a virga (R) and sceptre (L), cross motif in field
inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
reference: Dalas, 66

Adelaide of Maurienne
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (L), this seal is only known from a rough sketch and descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
reference: Nielen, 6

Louis VII
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
*reverse**: mounted figure holding a sword (R) and shield (L)
inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX / ET DUX AQUITANORUM*
counterseals×: a fantastical creature *or* Diana with the inscription +LODOVICUS REX
reference: Dalas, 67-69

* following his divorce from Eleanor of Aquitaine, the king ceased using the ducal title in 1154. The latest imprint of this reverse design dates from 1153.
× having ceased using the equestrian design on the reverse of his seal, Louis counter-sealed instead

Eleanor of Aquitaine
No surviving seal of Eleanor as Queen of France
reference: Nielen, 10

Constance of Castile
obverse: standing crowned figure holding flowers in both hands, vesica shape
inscription: SIGILLUM REGINE CONSTANCIE
reference: Nielen, 11

Adela of Champagne
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on waist, vesica shape
inscription: + SIGILLUM ADELE DEI GRACIA REGINE FRANCORUM
reference: Nielen, 12

Philip II (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 70
online image: http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=03776 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Philip II (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 71

Philip II (seal of regency)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: PHILIPUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: an eagle
reference: Dalas, 72

Isabella of Hainault
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L), vesica shape
inscription: +ELIZABEZ DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REGINA
reference: Nielen, 13
online image (matrix): http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=51057&partId=1&searchText=isabella+of+hainault&page=1 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Ingebourg of Denmark
No seal survives although she is known to have had one
reference: Nielen, 14

Louis VIII
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: a shield patterned with fleur-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 75

Blanche of Castile
obverse: standing crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords, six fleurs-de-lys in field, vesica shape
inscription: SIGILLUM BLANCHE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE
counterseal: a castle between two fleurs-de-lys with the inscription BLACHA FILIA REGIS CASTELLE
reference: Nielen, 15

Louis IX (A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 76

Louis IX (B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and sceptre (L)
inscription: LUDOVICUS DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REX
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 77

Louis IX (seal of regency)
obverse: crown within an architectural border

inscription: + S LUDOVICI DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGIS IN PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS AGENTIS
counterseal: a shield patterned with fleurs-de-lys
reference: Dalas, 78

Margaret of Provence
obverse: standing crowned figure within a gothic niche supported by two columns holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords, vesica shape
inscription: S MARGARETE DEI GRATIA FRANCORUM REGINE
counterseal: a fleur-de-lys with the inscription + AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA
reference: Nielen, 16

Kings and Emperors and Queens and Empresses of Germany

Henry IV (royal seals A-D)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with bird (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS REX (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA REX (B-D)
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 1-4

Henry IV (imperial seal A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding an orb with cross (R) and sceptre with flower (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA TERCIUS ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 7

Henry IV (imperial seals B&C)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA III ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 8-9

Henry IV (royal bullae A&B)
obverse: half figure crowned and facing left holding a sceptre with bird (R)
reverse: city gate with three towers
inscription: + HEINRICUS REX / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI
reference: Posse, Heinrich IV., 6-7

Henry V (royal seal A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)

inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA...
reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 1

Henry V (royal seal B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with three prongs (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM QUINTUS REX
reference: Gawlik, 'Ein neues Siegel Heinrichs V.', pp. 529-36

Henry V (imperial seals A & B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IIII IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (A); + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA IIII ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS (B)
reference: Posse, Heinrich V., 2-3

Matilda of England
Although the earliest surviving impression of this seal is found in England, Matilda most probably first used this seal in Germany
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) with hand (L) in front of body
inscription: + MATHILDIS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA
reference: Danbury, 'Queens and Powerful Women', p. 18; Stieldorf, 3

Lothar III (royal seals A&B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA TERCIUS ROMANORUM REX
reference: Posse, Lothar III., 1-2

Lothar III (imperial bulla)
obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (L) and encircled by city walls
reverse: five towered building incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'
inscription: + LOTHARIUS DEI GRATIA... /+ ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Lothar III., 4

Conrad III (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: +CUONRADUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX II
reference: Kahsnitz, 27

Frederick I (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX
reference: Kahsnitz, 28

Frederick I (imperial seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 30

Frederick I (royal and imperial bullae)
obverse: half figure crowned and facing forward holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L) and encircled by city walls
reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI (inscription altered on imperial *bullae* to reflect different status)
reference: Kahsnitz, 29 and 31

Beatrix of Burgundy
No seal survives although she is known to have had one
reference: Stieldorf, 4

Henry VI (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX
reference: Kahsnitz, 32

Henry VI (imperial seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L); 'REX SICILIE' added to field following marriage to Constance of Sicily
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 33

Henry VI (imperial bulla)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)

reverse: the Colosseum inside circular city walls incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 34

Constance of Sicily
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast, vesica shape
inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REGINA SICILIE
reference: Stieldorf, 5

Philip of Swabia (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + PHILIPPUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 35

Irene Maria
Only a fragment of an impression of her seal survives
reference: Stieldorf, 6

Otto IV (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with flower (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + OTTO DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 36

Otto IV (imperial seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field
inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 39

Otto IV (royal bulla)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
reverse: city gate with three towers incorporating the legend 'AUREA ROMA'

inscription: indecipherable / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Otto IV., 2

Otto IV (imperial bulla)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), sun and moon in field
inscription: + DEI GRATIA OTTO ROMANORUM IMPERATOR ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Posse, Otto IV., 4

Maria of Brabant (seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a fleur-de-lys (R) and orb (L), sun and moon in field
inscription: + MARIA DEI GRACIA ROMANORUM IMPERATRIX SEMPER AUGUSTA
reference: Kahsnitz, 41; Stieldorf, 7

Frederick II (royal seal A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field
inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 46

Frederick II (royal seal B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: +FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS ET REX SICILIE
reference: Kahsnitz, 48

Frederick II (imperial seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre (R) and orb with cross (L), 'REX IERUSALEMIAE' added to field following his coronation as king of Jerusalem
inscription: + FRIDERICUS DEI GRATIA IMPERATOR ROMANORUM ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 50

Frederick II (royal bulla A)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) and orb with cross (L), 'ET REX SICILIE' in field

reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by two smaller towers, small flowers, circles and crosses in field
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 47

Frederick II (royal bulla B)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with leaves and cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers, encircled by city walls
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 49

Frederick II (imperial bulla)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L), 'STUS ET REX SICILIE' in field, Jerusalem added after 1229 coronation
reverse: large gate tower flanked by two smaller towers encircled by city walls that terminated in two further smaller towers
inscription: + FREDERICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGU [STUS] / + ROMA CAPUT MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 51
online image: http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/caran_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=AF-02089 [accessed 24 July 2018]

Constance of Aragon
No impression survives, but the design is recorded in a later description
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre
reverse: mounted figure carrying a harp
inscription: + CONSTANTIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SICILIE, DUCATUS APULIE ET PRINCIPATUS CAPUE / + CONSTANTIA REGINA FILIA ILLUSTRIS REGIS ARAGONENSIUM
reference: Stieldorf, 8

Henry (VII) (royal seal)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
inscription: + HENRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SENPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Kahsnitz, 52

Henry (VII) (royal bulla)
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with cross (R) and orb with cross (L)
reverse: large gate tower incorporating the words 'AUREA ROMA' flanked by four smaller towers
inscription: + HEINRICUS DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REX ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS / ROMA CAPUD MUNDI REGIT ORBIS FRENA ROTUNDI
reference: Kahsnitz, 53

Margaret of Austria
obverse: enthroned and crowned figure holding a sceptre with fleur-de-lys (R) with hand (L) on breast holding cords
inscription: + MARGARETA DEI GRATIA ROMANORUM REGINA ET SEMPER AUGUSTUS
reference: Stieldorf, 10

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